7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillánes hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucanía and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucanía, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gaspar Pinto, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-499).

43 Manquilef, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those many bush affairs, almost one romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulicán, a powerful chieftain

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the ruka, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 613 621 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] [583] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights [178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. [169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 595 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or [507] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 [596] There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup-

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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[facing p. iii]

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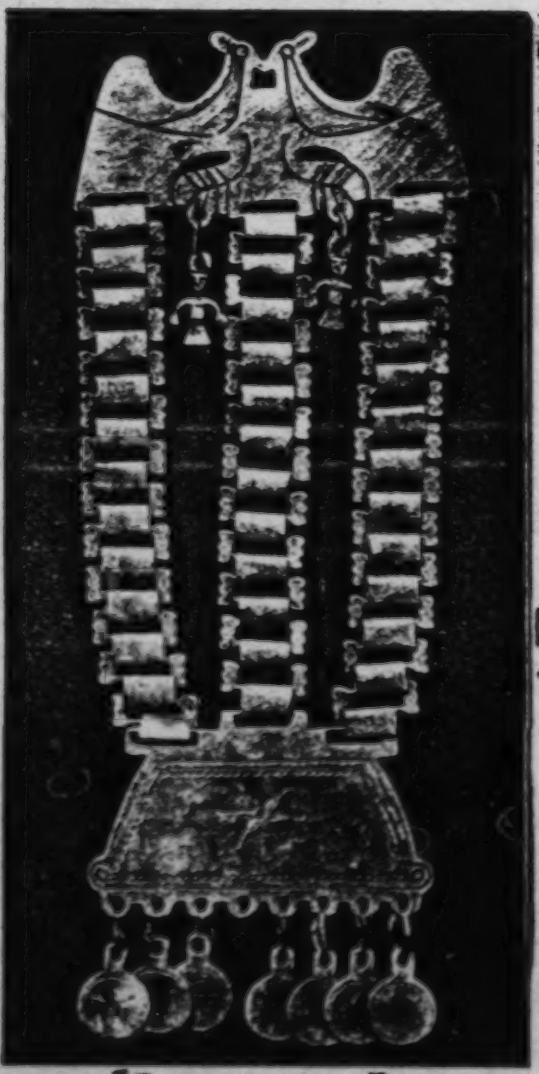

[769]

"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

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sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

"Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko ñetuln*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become bluebottles?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*filllatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*weaa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (*llekurewen*) connected with their own "society."

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(*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a reservation community and head of the dominant lineage thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun* (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*. Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the
[769] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given *asylum during the postwar decades* by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613 ### *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
[611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[591] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. *any lafu*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Ñenechen* made and is master of the people; *ñenemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *ñenechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *ñenechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

The minor gods, while under the control of *ñenechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *ñenechen*, *ñenechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *ñillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *ñenechen*.

The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *keruhue*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuka*. While it is to *ñenechen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuka*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillifucha* and his wife *huillikushe*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *kupuka* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillifucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sea), *trafkenfucha/kushe* or, sometimes, *pillanfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *ñenechen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *ñenechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

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While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

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of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *weza* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *Genechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*ennulpallun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *kenchus*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*nuliqueu*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *nillatun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *nillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone *glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance* called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their territorial group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity supposed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a later-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks [184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *füllatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelons, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
769 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
776 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
794 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

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The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapuchetland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any ritual ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate something of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*, sometimes *trakafiurke*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the same vein, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

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Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lower gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that each-and-each an ancestor-god lived in the era long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the coexistent existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the recreation myth (see p. 75).

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The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only there. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *dewachen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipeñi*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *dewachen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *dewachen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *awun*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Herds of the *wen* are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sicken from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expansions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expansions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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Through *wewpin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *wewpin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates or an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awen* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

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When *wewpin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by escort, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if mules are available. The burial place, *ellun* (cemetery) or *miñcheumapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

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The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and chicha.

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session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *awulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [796] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuke*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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of reservations cooperate to hold *füllatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *füllatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *füllatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *füllatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *füllatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *füllatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *füllatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatorio de los corderos, algunos hombres experimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *füllatun* in which *machi did* not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *füllatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

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in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for pereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unobtain-
tiated references to regional differences in either cultural or
social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
729 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a
conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche
ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and
ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from
analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological
sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and
ñillatun, regardless of differences. An important though by no
means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the
two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the
recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at
least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a
fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors
for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned
with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional
deities, and fewerbers. But the two ceremonies are more than
merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a
common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distin-
guishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinc-
tion is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a
common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral
spirits and fewerbers, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the
dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[illegible] although there are structural and compositional differences
adhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*) which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and oration with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have isolated reservations A through R, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal rotation, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *filletufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *filletun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[1]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[1] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *filletun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the lack of local ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

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Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*), who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances. Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

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A significant feature of each reservation having its own priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who leads assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances, or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, therefore, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this supportable status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, re-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral duties, but are able to observe their propitiations during the dilution ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of re-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ritual: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational unit (e.g. ABC in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage, he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during dilution represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Araucanian gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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differences between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *nguillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shamans. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is usually inept and has lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *nguillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it lends its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into reservation often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *nguillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *nguillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *nguillatun* gradually becomes something else, and shifts are both political and ritual expressions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationships forged in the *nguillatun* ceremony, if, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu ava, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *ava*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the weküfe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the consecration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services. There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relationships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft, and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the remaining continuum, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

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Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not unknown. It also occurs between unrelated persons co-resident on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Intramarital women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of kinsmen among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a unrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the locus agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

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The only other logical explanation of death is the irresistible action of the foreboding forces of evil, one of the unfortunate of verbajo. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the solidarity of the ritual congregation and its local and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a minimizing force against evil operating upon or within essential ranks. The loss of a member is debilitating, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect acts. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given rite. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The affinal and rite congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the moral segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both rites and affinals. This I have done with some rigor in the Temuco region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that employed in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering rites, affinals, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in affinals and rites but which is also related through matrimonial exchanges. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their breasts.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *nillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *nillatun* held out of season would not be effective.

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But diseases usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of

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prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[1] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

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The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *füllatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *füllatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[1] This poses a problem with regard to vengeance-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *nillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murdering-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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754 On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to
628 involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related
578 through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through mar-
621 riages contracted several generations ago and then not subse-
578 quently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do consanguines. Intracommunal embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is
737 not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific
•769 ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on
782 the part of the community to make proper supplication of their
[794] ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *nillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *nillatun* the ritual priest (*nillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *nillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *kouchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *trew trew*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *weku fe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand columns contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand columns.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
home	fundo
pasture	arable
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
witoko	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

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There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *fonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sexes of the gods. Female ancestors are seen dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

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There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *füllatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

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family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, at an area considerably reduced from preconquest days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic interpretive factor or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *nillatun* and *ewe* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the preconquest era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.